The Suffragist

5 CENTS THE COPY

OFFICIAL WEEKLY NEWSPAPER OF THE
CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

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VOL. I | DECEMBER 27, 1913 | NO. 7

A VOLUNTEER PAPER SELLER—MISS MILDRED KOONCE SELLING "THE SUFFRAGIST"

REVIEW OF THE WEEK

At the request of the Collegiate Club of Washington, D. C., an organization of progressive young men, Miss Eliza Hardy Lord and Miss Elsie Hill addressed them on Suffrage at the clubhouse, Sunday evening, December 21st. Both women have frequently appeared as advocates of Suffrage on similar occasions.

SITUATION IN CONGRESS

The resolution to create a standing Committee on Woman Suffrage is still before the House Rules Committee. In the absence of the chairman, the Rules Committee will not meet to take action on this resolution till after the holiday recess which closes on January 12th. The Woman Suffrage Constitutional Amendment awaits action in the Senate.

SUFFRAGE THEATRICAL PERFORMANCE

One of the most interesting programs ever given by a Suffragist organization has been prepared by Mrs. Randolph Keith Forrest and will be presented at the Columbia Theater, Friday afternoon, February 20th. "How the Vote Was Won," the brilliant comedy by Cecil Hamilton, will be presented by a cast which as yet has not been completed. There will also be a short minstrel show preceded by a gambol of the Congressional Union. Mrs. Randolph Keith Forrest will manage the entertainment and Miss Doris Stevens will have charge of all the business arrangements.

ANNIVERSARY POSTPONED

Owing to the absence of Representative and Mrs. William Kent from the city the anniversary meeting which was to have been held at their home January 2d, has been postponed until January 11th.

The meeting is intended to celebrate the first birthday of Headquarters by a review of the work already accomplished and a discussion of that which remains to be done.

The home of Mrs. Kent at 1925 F Street Northwest, has been the scene of a number of notable meetings during the past year.

A committee of one hundred, of which Mrs. William Kent of California is chairman, has been organized to collect funds for leasing Headquarters for another year.

The list of the members of the committee has not yet been completed. It will include a number of women who have been prominent in the work of the Union since its inception and others who have not been until recently identified with its work.

The work of the committee will be done early in the coming year. Present indications point to the fact that it will be completed in record-breaking time.

The canvass made by the committee will be very thorough and it is already apparent that loyal support will be forthcoming. Methods to be pursued in raising the money will be thoroughly discussed and the plans adopted will be those which have been found most effective by members experienced in such work.

A much-needed extension of space has necessitated an increased sum for rent. A number of departments have been added to the original scope of the work. Offices have been engaged for department heads who have at present no quarters in which to do the important work assigned them.

The money must be forthcoming soon.

PROGRAM OF THE WEEK

Friday, January 2d, at 8.15 P. M.

Open-air Meeting.....Eighth Street and Pennsylvania Avenue
Speakers: Mrs. E. St. C. Thompson and Miss Ruth Noyes.

Open-air Meeting.....Eighth Street and New York Avenue
Speakers: Miss Elsie Hill and Mr. Leavitt Stoddard.

Open-air Meeting.....Fourteenth Street and Pennsylvania Avenue
Speakers: Mrs. W. C. Brooke and Mrs. William Clagett.

Open-air Meeting.....Ninth and E Streets
Speakers: Miss Lucy Burns and Miss Lily Glenn.

Open-air Meeting.....Fourteenth Street and Park Road
Speakers: Miss Doris Stevens and Mrs. Irving Moller.

Saturday, January 3d, at 8.15 P. M.

Open-air Meeting.....Eighth Street and Pennsylvania Avenue
Speakers: Miss Elsie Hill and Mrs. E. St. C. Thompson.

Open-air Meeting.....Eighth Street and New York Avenue
Speakers: Miss Alice Paul and Mrs. William Clagett.

Open-air Meeting.....Fourteenth Street and Pennsylvania Avenue
Speakers: Miss Doris Stevens and Mr. Leavitt Stoddard.

Open-air Meeting.....Ninth and E Streets
Speakers: Mrs. W. C. Brooke and Miss Lily Glenn.

Open-air Meeting.....Fourteenth Street and Park Road
Speakers: Miss Lucy Burns and Mr. Gilsen Gardner.

FORECAST AND REVIEW

THIS number of The Suffragist is devoted to a review of Suffrage work in Washington during the year now closing. It narrates the facts connected with that expanding work; the growth of office space; the increasing number of members directly interested in the work of securing a constitutional amendment enfranchising women; the departments into which the national work is dividing itself and the people who are in charge of those departments. These are bare and unconnected facts; but in their significance lies the most important development in the recent history of the American Suffrage Movement. It means that with one great stride that movement has become national.

This change in the character of the Suffrage movement is not due to any individual or set of individuals working in Washington and elsewhere; it is a natural and logical result of all the individual and local labors that enter into the history of the Suffrage movement. Countless women working in their own localities have won full enfranchisement in nine States and partial enfranchisement in one great State, the second largest in the Union. Workers in nine other States, by knocking at the door of their State legislatures, have obtained the passage of a resolution submitting the question to the decision of the electors at the earliest possible moment. They have thus made Suffrage a political issue in their States; and this portent of the advancing political power of woman has a direct influence on the representatives of those States in the national legislature. Educational work in behalf of the enfranchisement of women is going on in all parts of the country, and is rapidly changing everywhere from propaganda to politics. It was only a question of the time when these scattered forces should unite to make a combined attack on Congress.

In the Senate the Suffrage amendment is awaiting action which will be taken upon it in the course of the present session with every hope of a triumphant verdict in favor of the political equality of men and women.

In the House, the question of creating a standing Committee on Woman Suffrage, has been put up to a House Committee—the Committee on Rules—which is controlled by prominent members of the dominant party, and acts in consultation with the party leaders and on their advice. Their verdict will be a verdict of the party, and will put the party on record as decisively as a vote on the question of Woman Suffrage would do.

The question of woman Suffrage has also in the past year been brought directly to the attention of the President of the United States; and he, in shifting the responsibility from himself to his party, has also publicly acknowledged the responsibilities of that party for the settlement of the problem.

Our work for the future grows definite before our eyes. We have to extract from the leaders of the Democratic party a clear statement of their attitude toward Woman Suffrage, so that they may go to the men and women voters of this country, when they do go, plainly committed to a policy of support or opposition.

We will have to call, in the work of the present year, on every organization which believes in self-government for women; on all the Suffrage societies organized throughout the country, from whom we expect powerful and organized help; on the National Council of Women Voters, an organized party already equipped with political weapons; on the labor organizations throughout the country, both of men and women; on Granges pledged to Woman Suffrage; on every association fighting evils which the vote in the hands of women will be used to correct. With the strong pull of all these organizations for a national act enfranchising women, the work of winning the vote in America will be swift and sure.

TREASURER'S REPORT

THE birth of a new year finds the Union confronted with a greatly extended program of work. Every month we are adding to the weapons in the armory with which to continue the fight for the amendment to the Constitution which shall give us the priceless right to vote. Our headquarters is now our immediate concern. In adding new departments we have been forced to lease additional rooms and for this purpose we need money. A committee will be organized to help us raise this fund, but we depend directly upon the members of the Union as well to obtain the money.

Let each loyal supporter of the Union constitute herself a committee of one to raise as much money as she can for the treasury. We need individual help. We ask each member to send what she can and to ask others to do so. If each one does her part there will be no lack of money to prosecute our work.

As the work has grown in scope it has also grown in interest. Members become more enthusiastic as time passes. From those who have been members since the organization of the Union we have received steadfast support. From those who have joined more recently we count upon the same support.

Send your contribution promptly that we may know during the first few days of the new year that this fund will be forthcoming.

MARY MORRIS LOCKWOOD,
Treasurer of the Congressional Union.

Contributions toward $25,000 Fund for Securing the Passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

In this column an acknowledgment will be made of all contributions received during the time we have been at work.

Miss Josephine Kelton	$1 00
A Friend	200 00
Collection	8 15
Mrs. Smylie	4 50
Miss Nettie L. White	5 66
Writers, per Mrs. Kildare	7 00
Mrs. Mary Roberts Carse	1 00
Twentieth Century Medical Club, per Dr. Marion Coon	5 00
Nurses, per Miss Wheeler	8 00
Contribution	1 00
Jno. Barrett	100 00
Miss Constance Leupp	1 00
Jennie V. W. Mason	1 00
Thodofoefor Quanerod	1 00
Mrs. Kerr	1 00
Mrs. Harmon L. Thompson	10 00
Emma R. Richards	3 00
Mrs. J. Otho Stevenson	5 00
Minnesota W. S. A., per J. Rhodes	10 00
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Collection	1 95
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Miss Marion Cathren	10 00
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Missouri Suffrage Assn., per Mrs. Fayette C. Ewing	100 00
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Mr. Gifford Pinchot	100 00
Butler Equal Suffrage Assn	5 00
Woman's Franchise League of Indiana	10 00
Mary W. Wotherspoon	3 00
Anna P. Sharpless, from Woman's Suffrage Convention Fund	6 30
Iowa Equal Suffrage Assn	5 00
Sophonisba Breckenridge	10 00
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Martha S. Kimball	15 00
Mrs. Randolph Keith Forrest	3 00
Elizabeth Dutcher	10 00
Maximillian Goldberg	1 00
Michigan Equal Suffrage Association	25 00
Mrs. Medill McCormick	100 00
Chicago Political Equal Suffrage League	25 00
Peter Peters	2 00
Miss Mary Perry Brown	2 00
Mrs. E. Sinclair	5 00
Mrs. Lee	10 00
Miss Bray	25
Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association	20 00
College Equal Suffrage League of Washington, D. C.	20 00
Nebraska Woman Suffrage Association	20 00
College Equal Suffrage League of Washington, D. C.	10 00
Mrs. Mary C. Tricou	10 00
Isabelle Miller	$15 00
Mrs. Case	10 00
Julia C. S. Grant	50 00
Ruth Noble Warren	10 00
Mrs. A. D. Warner	5 00
Mrs. J. P. Nichols	1 00
Mrs. Charles Warner	1 00
Mr. F. I. DuPont	1 00
Miss Ospina	1 00
Mrs. Phillips	1 00
Delaware Equal Suffrage Association	2 00
Mrs. E. J. MacNair	5 00
Mrs. Case	10 00
Julia C. S. Grant	50 00
Ruth Noble Warren	10 00
Mrs. A. D. Warner	5 00
Mrs. J. P. Nichols	1 00
Mrs. Charles Warner	1 00
Mr. F. I. DuPont	1 00
Miss Ospina	1 00
Mrs. Phillips	1 00
Delaware Equal Suffrage Association	2 00
Mrs. E. J. MacNair	5 00
T. Todd	2 00
Moorestown, N. J., Suffrage Association	5 00
Gen. Anson Mills	75 00
Miss Mary Burnham	500 00
Mrs. Fels	25 00
Collection (Miss Vernon)	16 58
Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw	10 00
Mrs. Henry Justice	25 00
Anthony Equal Suffrage League of the District of Columbia	15 00
Missouri Woman Suffrage Association	15 00
Mrs. M. E. Brooke	5 00
Mrs. Mary Kealty Clagett	10 00
Mrs. Nina E. Allender (Christmas Gift)	5 00
Woman Suffrage Party of Derby, Ansonia and Shelton, Connecticut (Mrs. F. A. Martin, President)	15 00
Collection (Mrs. Monroe Hopkins)	40 73
Mrs. Lawrence Lewis	50 00
Miss Elsie Hill	10 00
Miss Estelle Wheeler	1 00
Miss Mary A. Conkle	1 00
Anonymous	65
Miss May V. Wolf	8 00
Street Collection	15 38
Equal Franchise League of Wallingford, Connecticut	5 00
Mr. John Pries, U. S. S. H.	10 00
Mrs. Frank M. Hall	5 00
New Hamsphire Woman Suffrage Association	25 00
Dr. Mary D. Hussey	5 00
Miss Constable	5 00
New Jersey State Suffrage Association	15 00
Stanton Equal Suffrage Association of the District of Columbia	25 00
A Friend	124 00
Mrs. Josephine Dexter	26 50
Mrs. Harriet L. Scribner	1 00
The Anthony League of Washington, D. C.	15 00
Miss C. L. Howard Miss Katharine Lackland }	5 00
Estelle Willoughby Ions	2 50
Total	$1,206 34
Previously Acknowledged	7,093 74
Total	$8,300 08

CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

THE Congressional Union is composed of women in all parts of the country who have joined in working to secure the passage of an amendment to the United States Constitution enfranchising women.

Membership is open to all women who consider Woman Suffrage the main issue in national politics.

There is an entrance fee of 25 cents. After that there are no other dues, as it is known that every member will contribute to the full extent of her ability.

The colors adopted by the Union are purple, white, and gold. They float from the doorway of Headquarters where they serve to attract the attention of passing throngs to the placards we have placed on view.

The Union was organized only last May and now numbers more than 1,000 members. These are located in all parts of the United States, but all are kept in close touch with the work done here by correspondence.

There is sufficient work to be done in securing the passage of the amendment to interest every Suffrage sympathizer in the United States. Every member of the Union owes it to her principles to engage in some form of practical work for the end toward which we are all aiming. Find out that part of the work for which you are best suited—and then put your shoulder to the wheel.

If you believe in the purpose of the Congressional Union and in its work fill in the following membership blank and forward it with the 25 cents to Congressional Union Headquarters, 1420 F Street Northwest, Washington, D. C.

DATE.....

NAME.....

FULL ADDRESS.....

.....

Telephone Number.....

Occupation.....

A VOLUNTEER "NEWSIE"

To Miss Mildred Koonce of the Portner our thanks are due for the handsome cover which adorns this week's issue. A photographer with an eye to the artistic snapshotted the pretty original in the act of disposing of copies of THE SUFFRAGIST.

Miss Koonce is an ardent Suffragist and has aided us in other ways than by selling papers. She is a North Carolina girl who has made Washington her home for several seasons.

Miss Koonce is one of a group of attractive young women who have proved invaluable as sellers of THE SUFFRAGIST. We hope to print portraits of others of them in future issues.

NOTICE.

We wish to make a correction of an error which appeared in the issue of THE SUFFRAGIST of December 13th. In listing a contribution from Miss Jeannette Rankin we credited Miss Rankin with having given $25, whereas her contribution was $5. This made an error in the total.

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Everything For the Home
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Official weekly newspaper of the
CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

COMMITTEE:
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CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

SENATE AND HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION NUMBER ONE Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE—

"SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

HISTORY OF AMENDMENT

Introduced:
In the Senate: April 7, 1913, by Senator George E. Chamberlain, of Oregon.
In the House: April 7, 1913, by Representative Frank W. Mondell, of Wyoming.
Referred:
In the Senate: April 7, 1913, to the Woman Suffrage Committee.
In the House: April 7, 1913, to the Judiciary Committee.
Reported:
In the Senate: June 13, 1913, unanimous favorable report.
Discussed:
In the Senate: July 31, 1913, twenty-three Senators in favor, three opposing.
September 18, 1913, Senator Wesley L. Jones, of Washington, demands immediate action.
Present Status:
In the Senate: Awaiting action.
In the House: Before the Judiciary Committee.

NEW YEAR'S DAY

THE day of good resolutions is drawing near; and, smile at it as we may, the day that opens a new span of time brings with it high hopes and resolves.

We, the women of America, mean to win in 1914 the passage through Congress of a Constitutional Amendment establishing our political freedom.

We mean to win it ourselves by personal effort and personal sacrifices. The work of winning freedom enfranchises the mind. A vote dropped in one's hand through the work of others leaves one spiritually no freer than before.

HOW MEN LEGISLATE FOR WOMEN

By MARY CAROL

IF YOU have a sense of humor, dear reader, and the joke is not on you, the story of the bill to restrict the hours of labor of women in the District of Columbia is highly diverting.

During the Sixty-second Congress, Senator La Follette introduced a bill (Senate 7723) to prohibit the employment of women in the District of Columbia for more than eight hours in any one day or more than six days or more than forty-eight hours in any one week. This bill covered all classes of women workers except the domestic servant. Representative Peters of Massachusetts introduced a similar bill in the House of Representatives and the two bills were duly referred to the respective committees of the House and Senate having jurisdiction over the matter. In the course of time the La Follette bill was reported to the Senate, with an amendment, the amendment being to strike out the provisions covering office workers. In this connection, it may be remarked that very many Senators and Representatives employ women in their offices.

In making this amendment, the Senate did not act without precedent, for in one State only of the many which have adopted some kind of a law protecting at least in a measure working women (the State of Utah) is this protection extended to the office workers. Indeed, the chivalrous (?) State of Virginia specifically excepts stenographers, bookkeepers, cashiers, and office assistants from the beneficent workings of the *Ten-Hour-Day law*. Still, this exception, though as before said, not without precedent, is without any obvious reason, for it is a self-evident truth that a girl running a typewriter for eight hours a day is *running a machine*, and that this class of work involves a strain on eyes, nerves, and muscles, made none the less severe because a measure of brain work is also involved. Of course, a reason for this amendment was alleged. That if the hours of women in offices were restricted to eight a day THEIR PLACES WOULD BE FILLED BY MEN. This reason is warranted to be strictly fresh! Now, to the initiated, there are several points to this joke.

First. For years we have had it dinned into our ears that women were cutting wages, taking men's jobs away, and making labor conditions harder. It is time the reverse was pointed out. Men will now take women's jobs away if hours are shortened.

Second. The following paragraph is quoted from the Civil Service Manual, which has contained a similar paragraph for years:

Sec. 276, page 132. "Stenographers and typewriters who are competent and willing to accept the usual salaries offered (*Men, $900; Women, $720*) have much greater prospects for appointment than applicants for other clerical positions. *The supply of male eligibles willing to accept the usual entrance salary is not equal to the demand.*" (The italics are ours.)

This innocent little paragraph suggests several pertinent questions.

Where are the men stenographers coming from who will supplant the women if the latter were permitted the benefits of the eight-hour law? The Civil Service has the whole United States to draw from for its supply of male stenographers.

Why do the salaries paid to men exceed the salaries paid to women who have passed the same examination and are doing the same class of work?

Were the Senators aware of this scarcity of male stenographers? If so, is not their reason for the amendment farcical? If they were not aware of it, why did they attempt to legislate without informing themselves concerning conditions? We call on Senator Pomerene, who made this report to the Senate on behalf of the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia to reply.

Another point. The Civil Service examinations are supposed to be a test of efficiency. In section 263, page 125, of the manual, the following information regarding certification is given:

"Whenever an appointing officer desires to fill a vacancy by original appointment he makes requisition upon the commission for a certification of eligibles, specifying the kind of position, the *sex* desired, and the salary."

This is an ingenious method of appointing men only, for as long as an appointing officer may specify the sex desired, so long may men who have barely passed with a rating of 70 be appointed over the heads of women who have passed with perhaps an average of 90 or more. And it is perfectly obvious that this is done.

Are the examinations a test of efficiency, or are they not? If they are, why is a man with an average of 70 more efficient than a woman with an average of 90? Why are not those who stand highest in the examinations appointed regardless of sex?

Are there any stenographic positions in the Government where the conditions are such that women can not do the work, or should not be permitted to do the work? If so, where are they, and can not these conditions be remedied? To the ordinary stenographer, graciously permitted to work over eight hours, the office hours of 9 to 4.30 with thirty days vacation and the possibility of thirty days sick leave offered by Government positions looks attractive. These hours fall short of eight.

Since the Congress is so solicitous for the welfare of women, why not do that which is well within its power, enact legislation that will give women an opportunity to obtain these desirable places, providing they attain a higher rating than men? And why does not the President intervene? We believe it is within his power to do so even under existing law. Surely he knows that women stenographers are capable. It seems but a short time since the newspapers were devoting paragraphs to the work of Miss Salome Tarr, while in the employ of President-elect Wilson. Why not add to section 275, page 132, of the Civil Service Manual, now reading:

"The commission can not interfere with the proper exercise of the discretion vested in the appointing officers by the rules, which permit them to select for appointment any one of the three names certified, without regard to political or religious considerations," by adding, "and without regard to sex."

In closing, the La Follette bill passed the Senate during the Sixty-second Congress but failed to pass the House. In the early part of the present Congress (the Sixty-third), Senator La Follette re-introduced the bill as Senate, No. 1294, in the exact form in which it passed the Senate during the previous Congress—that is, minus protection for women office workers—and Senator Smith of Maryland, acting for the Committee on the District of Columbia, has reported the bill to the Senate with the recommendation that it pass. Representative Peters has introduced a similar bill in the House of Representatives.

Even in its mutilated form, the bill contains many good features and should be passed. The office workers most certainly would not wish to act the part of the dog in the manger and oppose any legislation which may help other women, but why does not the Congress "push the logic of a fact to its ultimate conclusion in *unmitigated* act" (to quote our friend, Kipling), and pass the bill introduced by Representative Nolan of California. This bill does extend its protection to office workers.

First Anniversary of Opening of Headquarters

HEADS OF DEPARTMENTS OF CONGRESSIONAL UNION

Upper Row: (1) MISS DORIS STEVENS, Executive Secretary; (2) MISS ALICE PAUL, Chairman Congressional Union; (3) MRS. HENRY LOCKWOOD, Treasurer
(4) MRS. JESSIE HARDY STUBBS, Press Secretary; (5) MRS. RHETA CHILDE DORR, Editor of "The Suffragist"

FROM a modest beginning in a basement one-room office to the occupation of ten rooms, all of them seething with Suffrage activity, the history of the Headquarters of the Congressional Union which will celebrate the first anniversary of its opening Friday, January 2d, is one of phenomenal growth.

When, only a year ago, Miss Alice Paul and Miss Lucy Burns, chairman and vice-chairman, respectively, of the Congressional Union, announced that a headquarters of the forces dedicated to the fight to secure a constitutional amendment enfranchising women would be opened in Washington at 1420 F Street Northwest, and that it would be leased for one year some of their best friends feared that the project was too ambitious and doubted whether it could be maintained for so long a time.

Events have completely justified whatever of optimism there was in the plan. Support for an active political campaign to secure the national enfranchisement of women has come in from all parts of the country; and the woman Suffrage question from being wholly a State issue has become one of the first movements in the field of national politics.

Situated in the heart of the fashionable shopping district of Washington, within a stone's throw of the United States Treasury and near the leading hotels and amusement places, where its banners of purple, white, and gold and posters catch the gaze of hundreds who daily pass its doors, the present home of the Congressional Union was selected as a fine strategic point from which to wage the fight.

Its expansion has been phenomenally rapid, but not so rapid as growth of the work of the Union.

At present the Union occupies ten rooms and these are by no means adequate for its needs. They are: the large main office occupied by the executive secretary, Miss Doris Stevens; the offices of the chairman, Miss Alice Paul, and of the vice-chairman, Miss Lucy Burns, a room for the storage of Suffrage literature and another for banners; the office of the treasurer, Mrs. Mary Morris Lockwood; the headquarters of the press work, in charge of the press secretary, Mrs. Jessie Hardy Stubbs; and the rooms occupied by THE SUFFRAGIST, the weekly issued by the Congressional Union, edited by Mrs. Rheta Childe Dorr.

So great is the interest displayed that headquarters is never without eager volunteers, ready to help in the clerical and general tasks with which the center of a great political movement always abounds. Selling buttons and copies of THE SUFFRAGIST is a favorite form of activity among youthful volunteers and one which is attended with great pecuniary benefi to the organization.

General supervision of all the departments i in the hands of Miss Paul and Miss Burns. A force of stenographers is kept busy with th really vast correspondence of the organiza tion. Countless meetings, both in Washingto and other places, are arranged and ther is a constant interchange of letters betwee Headquarters and Suffrage organizers all ove the United States.

An engrossing activity is supplying speaker for organizations whose members wish to hea the most convincing arguments from the bes equipped speakers. Many of them are or ganizations of men. "Send us a live wire, be cause we want to ask a lot of questions," is a frequent accompaniment of the request.

The general offices of the Union are in th basement of 1420 F Street Northwest, while th offices of the treasurer, the press secretary, an THE SUFFRAGIST are in 1416 F Street.

The offices of the chairman and vice-chairma are in the Kellogg Building.

In preparation for the difficult task of direct ing the work, Miss Burns and Miss Paul hav had varied and thorough experience in othe forms of Suffrage activity, and social service.

Miss Alice Paul, a native of Morristown, N. J. of good old Quaker stock, took an A. B. degre

from Swathmore College and an M. A. and Ph. D. from the University of Pennsylvania before taking a course in the New York School of Philanthropy from which she was graduated. Later, she studied at the Universities of Birmingham and of London, England. She has had an extended experience in social work, having been a resident worker at the Rivington Street College Settlement in New York, and at various settlements in England. She has devoted several years to the work of the Charity Organization Society in New York. In both England and the United States, she has taken an active part in the Suffrage movement.

Miss Lucy Burns was born in Brooklyn and was graduated from Packer Institute, and from Vassar College. She studied at Yale University for one year, at the University of Berlin for two years, and at the University of Bonn for one year. She joined the Women's Social and Political Union of London in 1909 and worked as organizer for Edinburgh and the east of Scotland from 1909 to 1912. On her return to America, she was appointed member of the Congressional Committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

Miss Doris Stevens who is joining the headquarters force January 1st as executive secretary has made a brilliant record as an organizer in Ohio. She will have an office off the main room at 1420 F Street. Miss Stevens is a Nebraskan and a graduate of Oberlin College.

The difficult and important office of treasurer is ably filled by Mrs. Mary Morris Lockwood, who is located on the second floor of the Kellogg Building. Mrs. Lockwood comes of Revolutionary stock and was born in Philadelphia, but has spent most of her life in the South. She was educated in North Carolina where she lived until her marriage to Mr. Henry Lockwood, son of Genl. H. H. Lockwood of Delaware. Her home is at present in Virginia where she organized the Alexandria County Suffrage League of which she is president. She was active in working for the Suffrage pageant last spring, acting as vice-chairman, chairman of the finance committee and of the information bureau.

The press service of the Union through which all the national and local news bureaus in Washington are supplied with daily copy, is in the capable hands of Mrs. Jessie Hardy Stubbs. The bulletins she issues must contain up-to-the-minute news of the progress of the fight for the Constitutional amendment in order to command the interest of the vast army of readers of the daily newspapers throughout the country. For this task Mrs. Stubbs has exceptional qualifications.

Mrs. Stubbs was born, educated, and has spent most of her life in Chicago. She is the daughter of Abbott Lawrence Hardy, journalist and writer, and widow of Dr. F. Gurney Stubbs. She spent one year in constitutional research history at Columbia University and followed it with a two years' training at St. Luke's Hospital, Chicago. She is a member of the reform department, Chicago Woman's Club, and has been active in the Suffrage association of Illinois, acting as treasurer, organizer, and legislative secretary at Springfield. She also acted as an organizer for the New York State Association and has spoken in many States of the Union. While living abroad she made special researches into political rights of women. She has also made exhaustive studies of the conditions of jails and reformatories of Illinois.

Across the hall from the press secretary's rooms are those of THE SUFFRAGIST, the weekly newspaper issued by the Congressional Union. The paper, edited by Mrs. Dorr, whose name is one to conjure with in American letters, does not aim to cover the whole field of Suffrage activities, but is confined to chronicling the progress of the fight to secure the Federal Amendment to the Constitution enfranchising women. It is a weekly newspaper with a definite, well-understood political policy. Established less than two months ago, THE SUFFRAGIST has a subscription list of which any weekly might be proud. Appealing strongly to all those who believe that the members of the Congressional Union are fighting along right lines to secure votes for women, the scope of THE SUFFRAGIST is national and its readers are located in every State in the Union. Appreciating this fact, advertisers have found it a favorite medium. Adjoining Mrs. Dorr's sanctum is the office of the business manager, Mrs. Martha Pier Tagg.

Familiar as are Mrs. Dorr's articles to all readers of present-day magazine literature, her name is everywhere sufficient assurance of breadth and literary quality in the new Suffrage paper.

Mrs. Dorr is a Nebraskan and had traveled extensively before she came to New York twelve years ago. She had lived in Seattle, and other western cities, had visited Alaska several times and was familiar with Western Canada. She was the first woman editor on the New York Evening Post, filling the position for several years. Her name became familiar to readers of periodicals like the Ladies' Home Journal and she was finally selected by the editors of a well-known magazine to make an investigation which resulted in a series of articles which developed "The Woman's Invasion." In the pursuit of this information she worked in factories, in shops and at many other forms of labor at which underpaid women toil, to get first-hand knowledge of the condition of working women. She became contributing editor of Hampton's Magazine and conducted nation-wide investigations into subjects of vital importance to women, such as child labor, schools, and women in business and in labor. Mrs Dorr has published articles on these subjects in all the leading periodicals and is author of "What Eight Million Women Want." She has made many trips to Europe during which she has come into intimate association with leaders in the feminist movement abroad. Among her friends is Ellen Key, the famous feminist writer.

The work of the volunteers has been of great benefit. The Union is desirous of hearing from members who are willing to sell "SUFFRAGISTS" near theaters, shops, and other places where crowds are gathered. The value of this work can not be overestimated. Suffragist appeals by this means reach the careless, indifferent many who are perhaps open to conviction when faced by the facts.

The young women of Washington have shown commendable interest in this field. Our cover shows one of the most efficient and attractive "newsies," Miss Mildred Koonce.

Woman Suffrage--from a Man's Viewpoint

By Hon. WILLIAM KENT.

WE who claim descent from northern Europe are legitimate heirs of a respect for our women. Back through all the Germanic and Scandinavian literature, through the historical records of Tacitus and others, runs the tradition of woman's high place in the home and the State, a position of equal and companion rather than of doll or drudge. And no one can charge that we spring from effeminate stock.

Latterly with the growth of luxury, the oriental, the southern doctrine crept in among the wealthy, carrying with it the idea of man's possession of woman, with its inevitable concomitant of seclusion, but it did not affect the large bulk of the people. The pale-faced, soft creatures that flit through the tales of Scott and other chroniclers of the aristocracy were not the mothers of the race. They did not represent the old traditions which persisted among the middle classes and the common folk. The ideal of woman purring by the fireside was not the ideal that inspired the pioneers of the ages or any of our race who have had the stern work of the world to do.

It is true that in those ancient days and down to modern times women took but little direct part in government except as it came to them from heirship. This was because the conception of democracy was inchoate. The later development of the demand for universal Suffrage as an inherent element of democracy was slowly being formulated. It is not at all remarkable that this should have been belated, for as we look back to our Revolutionary times we find that the chief reason our men gave for their revolt was an objection to "taxation without representation;" that is, their resentment was first directed against the taking of a small part of their property unless they had a voice in its abstraction and subsequent disposal.

It was not until later, when Jefferson formulated in the Declaration of Independence the great statement of the right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," that people phrased their realization that there were more sacred things to be secured and preserved by representative government than mere property. It is directly in this line of democratic progress that we shall confer Suffrage upon our women.

Even now there are shallow minds who, while admitting that those women that are taxed by the assessor should have a voice in electing that assessor, believe that the franchise should be curtailed so as to include only those from whom the assessor collects directly.

These taxation doctrinaries ignore a matter of fundamental import. For all women, as well as all men, are taxed directly or indirectly; and, further, all legislation has a bearing upon taxation, so that the tax-representation people are forced by their own reasoning to admit that all women have the right to be represented and to secure that representation in the only way they can secure it directly and effectively—at the ballot box.

It has long been recognized that the selected individual has practically reached his maximum development. Ancient Greece probably furnished the world the most perfect type of individual men of which there is record. But Socrates and Phidias were jostled by slaves; and, lacking real democracy, Greece perished. Development from now on must be social, must be a recognition of the duty of human beings to each other, so that by gradual process more people may enjoy greater opportunity. This is the meaning of democracy. It is this social impulse which is now moving the world.

From the standpoint of individualism I know no possible argument against the emancipation of women. They are entitled to equal opportunity, and even without it many of them have risen to positions of equal eminence with men. But when we look at the problem from the social side we find that there is insistent need for their full participation in the responsibilities of life as found in organized society. In women the social sense is more fully developed, more a motive force, than in men.

None of us who has had the good fortune to have had a mother's care fail to recognize that his real code of ethics is based upon her teaching

and her example. As that code broadens and becomes more heedful of the "other fellow," more nearly concerns the welfare of society, then there comes the necessity that the mother, knowing the needs of the times, shall teach the social code to the children. A boy whose mother has taught him that politics is something abstruse and something necessarily unclean, of which she knows nothing, that boy is unnecessarily ignorant and will have much to learn on his advent into the larger world. He may not always learn the lesson aright, as his teachers may not possess the moral character of his mother.

I do not believe that any greater benefit can come to our people than that which will accrue by giving to the mothers the franchise privilege and responsibility, which will educate them to a clear comprehension of political needs, so that they may impart social ideals to the coming generation. I shall revert to these three propositions again.

I do not believe that a woman can be an adequate companion—looking at the matter from the selfish standpoint of the man—without realizing and comprehending those problems which are of the highest interest to every man who is a worthy citizen of the Republic.

Again, although there is no such thing as an inherent right to vote—indeed, no such thing as inherent rights of any kind, as all rights must flow from what is recognized from time to time as social expediency—yet, having established the ideals of democracy and of equal rights, as we conceive them, under democracy there can be no logical denial of the right of the woman to participate in government. Again, women in common with men have a duty to society and this duty can not be fully performed without knowledge of conditions and participation in the attempt to better them. Instead of being denied the vote, they, and men as well, should be compelled to vote.

Those men who have been of use in the world have usually traced their character to their mothers. It is inconceivable that any man of the right sort who had a mother sufficiently strong to mold his character would deny her adequacy to exercise the franchise. It is always the other fellow's mother that will not pass muster. Somehow, democracy and Christianity have not yet drilled into us the appreciation of the equal rights of the "other fellow."

When we consider our wives the viewpoint may be different. There has been a tradition imparted from other races of possession and of control. What a farce this control is, is known to all and especially fills the funny sheet with banal joy. This theory of possession and control may be operative in what is left of Turkey, but it has no standing with us.

The follies of extravagant women spring largely from this discredited theory of the sheltered life. There can not be a sheltered life for any one in these days of yellow journalism, yellow dances, and questionable garb. The only shelter is the shelter of inherent character. I wish to quote from the great prophet of American democracy, Walt Whitman:

Her shape arises,
She, less guarded than ever, yet more guarded than ever;
The gross and soil'd she moves among do not make her gross and soil'd;
She knows the thoughts as she passes—nothing is conceal'd from her;
She is none the less considerate or friendly therefor;
She is the best belov'd—it is without exception—she has no reason to fear and she does not fear;
Oaths, quarrels, hiccupp'd songs, smutty expressions, are idle to her as she passes;
She is silent—she is possess'd of herself—they do not offend her;
She receives them as the laws of nature receive them—she is strong,
She, too, is a law of nature—there is no law stronger than she is.

When we come to consider our daughters, the idea which we must contend against, for it is still prevalent, is that they, too, if the family be financially fortunate, should purr by the fire and practice on the piano, learning nothing worse about life than what they may read of crimes in the newspapers and of disgusting nastiness in the erotic novels.

Of course, the daughter may help the poor by giving them coins she begs from papa, but she must never know the source of his prosperity, for it often springs from social injustice; nor may she suspect that the remedy for undeserved poverty must lie in letting the people have what they produce, rather than in begging papa to hand back to his real creditors, the working people, 2 cents on the dollar. That would be teaching her socialism.

I am often asked how Suffrage works in practice. It works just as sane and sensible people would expect it to work. In California, it has improved our conditions in all respects, and most visibly in the decency which has come about in elections. Women have not been anxious to force or to inaugurate women's policies. For this, they deserve our gratitude. Nothing could be worse than that a sex line should be drawn in politics. We feel that we shall never have to meet this issue.

For twenty years I have been in the thick of political contention. I know the great game of practical politics from the suburbs to the stock yards, from the city to the thrashing crew in the field. There is nothing dirty about politics unless the cards are played with dirty hands. We have seen in California, with Woman Suffrage, the schoolhouse displace the saloon as political headquarters.

With the ballot we confer upon our women, our partners and companions, an added appreciation of social responsibility, an ability to contribute directly to social welfare, a noble, a limitless opportunity for the exercise of that altruistic sense which they possess more fully than do men.

As to those who oppose our ideals of society and of democracy—as these ideals appear in the adult Suffrage movement—I have never been able to comprehend the arguments of such of them as are disinterested and honest. I realize that many people are belated. Let us pray that they may soon catch up with progress. But there are many whose opposition bears the stigmata of vicious personal interest; the alcohol traffic, white slavery, much of the polite and useless and demoralized society are opposed to the emancipation of women. The alliances which are formed against adult Suffrage are surprising.

It is strange to consider the opposition here in Washington. To any one who knows how anxious are the members of the House and Senate to receive the vote of their constituents it seems obvious that those members who violently line up in opposition have no faith that their wives would vote for them if they had a chance.

We hear talk of the feminization of the race, but men have not been feminized by having been born of woman, any more than the widow who has struggled in the world of men, that her sons and daughters might live, has become masculine.

Effeminacy is not a matter of sex. It is a question of uselessness. The stronger, the keener, the more intelligent our women become, the more virile will be the race.

I began with the thought of equal companionship, the ideal of a home where human nature can develop to the full. You, whose mothers and wives are strong, able, loving women have you never felt the thrill of real fellowship, have you never added to the tenderly loyal affection you feel for them as women, the handclasp which you give to the man who is your closest friend? You who have never enjoyed the privilege of going to the polls, our most sacred shrine, in company with your mother and your wife, as I have done, can not realize the supreme pleasure of sharing with your nearest and dearest the highest of privileges, that of full American citizenship.

In closing I again quote from Whitman:

Where women walk in public processions in the streets, the same as the men,
Where they enter the public assembly and take places the same as the men;
Where the city of the faithfullest friends stands;
Where the city of the cleanliness of the sexes stands;
Where the city of the healthiest frthers stands;
Where the city of the best-bodied mothers stands;
There the great city stands.

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CONTRIBUTIONS WANTED

Friends of THE SUFFRAGIST are requested to send to the editor any literary matter in their possession which has a direct bearing on the passage of a Federal Amendment to the United States Constitution enfranchising women. It should be addressed, Editor, THE SUFFRAGIST, 1416 F Street Northwest.

In making this request, the management of the paper wishes to thank friends who have already sent us contributions. Some of these have already appeared in our issues; others are in the files and will be used shortly.

In our thanks we wish also to include well-wishers of the paper who have sent us contributions which, while not available for our use, have nevertheless given us an assurance of their interest in the newspaper organ of the Congressional Union.

Our restricted space forbids our publishing any matter, however meritorious, which advocates Suffrage for women in a general way, but has no direct bearing on the fight for a constitutional amendment. This paper does not claim to cover the whole field of Suffrage activities; our limited space forbids our doing so. We aim to confine ourselves entirely to activities, or organizations and meetings which have for their purpose the enfranchisement of women by means of amending the Constitution of the United States.

We can not agree to return any manuscripts sent us because our office force is too small at present to undertake that task. Nor can we pay for those manuscripts we use, because our entire organization is supported by the gifts of its members. We need their ideas no less than their money.

We are printing from time to time a series of notable speeches. Many of them were delivered at Congressional hearings.

We are especially desirous of printing contributions from the members of the Union. Let us hear from **you.**

CHAIRS NEEDED

Mrs. Russell Malcolm MacLennan, chairman of the Furnishing Committee, requests that friends will supply the Headquarters of the Union with desks and chairs, two articles which are imperatively needed for the use of heads of departments and of the clerical force. New rooms mean new furniture. The rooms in the Kellogg Building which have been leased must be furnished in a few days.

Mrs. MacLennan asks that the articles be sent to her at Headquarters, 1420 F Street Northwest. She may be reached daily between 6 p. m. and 7 p. m. Her address is 1330 Massachusetts Avenue; telephone address, North 4837.

SUFFRAGE PLAY

ONE OF the most interesting programs ever given by a suffrage organization will be presented at the Belasco on the afternoon of Friday, February 20, under the direction of Mrs. Randolph Keith Forrest, whose ability in this connection is well known. In addition to the brilliant comedy by Cicely Hamilton, "How the Vote Was Won," there will be a minstrel show and a gambol by the Congressional Union. Miss Doris Stevens will have charge of the business management of the entertainment.

Much mystery is being maintained with regard to the participants in the gambol and the "stunts" they will present. Some of them, so THE SUFFRAGIST has learned, have already obtained fame as entertainers, while others will make their first appearance on the stage.

The cast of the comedy has not yet been completed and will not be announced until every role has been filled. It is expected that rehearsals will be begun shortly after the holidays and the thoroughness with which the affair has been planned by Mrs. Forrest, insures a fine performance.

The comedy has been given with great success both in this country and in England, and is considered one of the finest arguments for suffrage ever written. The dramatic form in which the argument is put serves to attract many who are fond of the drama and somewhat less fond of debate.

CONGRESSIONAL UNION ANNOUNCEMENTS

SOLICITORS WANTED.

We wish to get in touch immediately with persons willing and able to devote real attention and time to obtaining subscriptions. It is not difficult to obtain subscribers, especially with the book "The American Government" by Frederic J. Haskin, which we are offering as a premium. Communicate at once with Circulation Manager, 1416 F Street Northwest.

LITERATURE

Suffrage literature, buttons, regalia, and pennants may be obtained from Congressional Union Headquarters. Attention is called particularly to literature bearing on the Federal Amendment, such as the reports of hearings held before committees of Congress and speeches delivered in Congress on behalf of the proposed Suffrage Amendment. For price-list and other information write to Miss Bessie Barkley, 1420 F Street, Washington, D. C., Chairman Literature Committee.

SUFFRAGE GAME

A new Suffrage game, "The Jigsaw Puzzle," is on sale at Congressional Union Headquarters. The game is an excellent means of interesting children in Suffrage. The price is 30 cents. Send orders to Mrs. John Jay White, 1420 F Street N. W., Washington, D. C.

SUFFRAGIST SUBSCRIPTION PRICE

The price of an annual subscription to this newspaper is ONE DOLLAR. During the preliminary subscription soliciting last summer the price asked was only 50 cents. In view of the cost of manufacture of a larger paper than originally planned—a cost necessarily greater—we have felt justified in advancing the price of our subscription. Certainly THE SUFFRAGIST is worth a dollar a year to any person who realizes the tremendous importance of the work being done for the Federal Amendment. Try to get your friends to subscribe.

MAIL INFORMATION

Are you receiving your Suffragist?

If you have subscribed to this newspaper and are not receiving your copy promptly each week, please notify the circulation manager at once. We need this information in case of complaint.

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All complaints will receive immediate attention.

CHANGE OF ADDRESS

MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESSIONAL UNION are asked to send any change in their address or telephone number to Miss Bessie Barkley, 1420 F Street Northwest, Washington, D. C., Chairman, Membership Committee.

PATRONIZE OUR ADVERTISERS

Visitors to the Suffrage School and others will find the advertising columns of THE SUFFRAGIST a reliable and dependable shopping guide to Washington. Every one of the advertisers we know will give the purchaser who comes through this newspaper absolute satisfaction. We ask you to patronize them *because they fully merit your patronage.*

PAPER SELLERS

THE MANAGEMENT of THE SUFFRAGIST is anxious to secure volunteers to act as paper sellers on the street. Will all who are able to help in this way communicate with Mrs. Martha Tagg, 1416 F Street Northwest, Washington, D. C.

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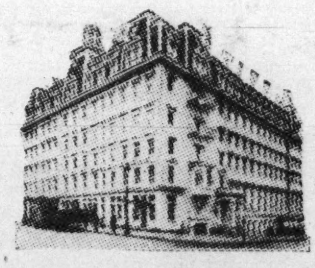

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